



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# THE LANGUAGE OF BERTHOLD VON CHIEMSEE IN *TEWTSCH E THEOLOGEY*

## II<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER 1. NOUNS

#### A. STRONG DECLENSION

##### 1. MASCULINE

§1. The masculines of the *a*- and *i*-declensions fell together in the singular. The n. and a. sg. are without ending, but an analogical *-e* is found in a few words in the n. sg.: *wege* 8, 9;<sup>2</sup> 10, 11; 46, 7; 94, 7; *spacierwege* 20, 4 (: *weg*, e.g., 13, 8); *rate* 21, 7. The *ja*-stems also regularly apocopate in the n. a. sg., e.g., *hyrt* 89, 6; 100, 12; *ruck* 'Rücken' 64, 7; *miterb* 59, 1; *waytz* 79, 6; *waitz* 82, 8; *hafner* 37, 1; *tåter* 36, 14; *gellter* 50, 6; *erleüchter* 87, 4; *anweiger* 36, 14; *erkücker* 30, 6. *-e* is retained only once, in the a. sg. *tenne* 24, 5 (: *tenn*, 82, 8). In the same manner the *u*-stems also drop *-e*, e.g., *frid* n. sg. 13, 5; a. sg. 5, 4; 6, 2; 13, 5; 20, 6; 24, 4; 51, 9; 95, 7; *syg* a. sg. 21, 3; 24, 3. *-e* is retained only once, in the a. sg. *syge* 79, 5.

§2. The d. sg. retains *-e* in the following words only: *bawche* 57, 3; *dinste* 85, 8; *drūme* 'Trum' (here = 'Scherben von einem Spiegel') 68, 7; *geiste* 60, 14; 77, 9; *gotte* 73, 14; *leibe* 57, 3; *rate* 41, 9; *sande* 4, 13; 88, 12; *stande* 26, 3; 49, 4; 81, 2; *wege*, very often, e.g., 8, 5; 10, 12; 20, 5; 30, 9; 77, 3; and in the weak nouns *nome*, e.g., 7, 10; 8, 3; 48, 5, and *same* 19, 1; 34, 5; 34, 9; 46, 7; 54, 5. These words have strong forms besides their regular weak ones, e.g., g. sg. *nomes* 48, 5; *noms* 15, 8; *sames* 35, 7; a. sg. *nom* 9, 3; 22, 5; 48, 5; *sam* 34, 9. Nearly all of the above words also have apocopated forms, e.g., *pawch* 15, 2; *dinst* 9, 4; 19, 8; *geist* 6, 2; *got* 4, 11; *leib* 6, 4; *rat* 6, 3; *stannd* 6, 7. The *u*-stem *frid* always apocopates, e.g., 9, 8; 24, 4; 35, 8; 76, 7.

§3. An analogical *-e* has been extended from the d. sg. to the a. sg. in the following words: *drame* (MHG. *drām*) 51, 12; *lone* 32, 1; *munde* 66, 7 (or a. pl. ?); *rate* 17, 5; *rūome* 15, 5; *wege*, very often,

<sup>1</sup> For Part One ("Phonology") see *Modern Philology*, X, 207-63.

<sup>2</sup> The figures refer to chapter and paragraph.

e.g., 12, 2; 12, 8; 16, 3; 28, 7; 30, 3; 33, 4; 37, 12. These words also occur in the phonetic forms, e.g., *mund* 4, 14; *rat* 16, 1; 17, 6; *rûem* 15, 3; *weg* 10, 11.

§4. The g. sg. regularly ends in -s, e.g., *gots* 4, 11; *geists* 6, 6; *wegs* 8, 4; *luffts* 23, 6; *leibs* 10, 3; *munds* 12, 1; *pâms* 'Baumes' 88, 2. Only a few have -es: *pâmes* 72, 2; *gotsdzinstes*; *geistes*, often, e.g., 6, 5; 6, 6; 6, 7; *gottes*, often, 4, 10; 4, 12; 4, 13; *lones* 66, 5; *lufftes* 31, 1; *standes* 17, 10; *todes* 31, 2; *traumes* 53, 3. The u-stems usually syncopate, e.g., *suns*, often, e.g. 5, 3; 7, 3; 7, 5; 10, 3; 10, 8; *frids* 13, 5; 30, 9: *sunes*, 60, 11; *des frides* 28, 15; *vnfrides* 48, 9. Many words ending in a sibilant and preceded by an article or pronoun omit the genitive ending, e.g., *des fleis* 22, 8; *deines halls* 39, 5; *jres schatz* 71, 2; *kaines artzt* 58, 2; *ains Papst* 6, 5; but *seines aussatzs* 73, 4.

§5. Old phonetic genitives are preserved in: *ewrs vater geist* 7, 7; *seines vater* 23, 5. By analogy other words in -er are treated in like manner: *des hailen* 'Heiland' 10, 4; *aines hafner* 21, 5; *jres ôbrer* 24, 4; *des phariseyer* 43, 16; *gnugthûer* 10, 4; *des arbeiter* 79, 1; and also *ires preytigan* 45, 11; *des zorn* 31, 1; and the foreign words *des apotecker* 94, 7; *diacon* 94, 13; *priester* 13, 12; *des balsam* 61, 3; *des canon* 63, 6; *kelich* 66, 8 (: *kelichs* 66, 8).

§6. In the n. a. pl. -e is generally apocopated, e.g., *stain* 29, 4; *leib* 11, 8; *geist* 23, 2; *knecht* 10, 12; *kônig* 30, 9; *pâm* 'Bäume' 49, 4; *hund* 88, 8; *fisch* 31, 1; *zâm* 'Zäume' 42, 1; *schûech* 21, 5; 39, 13. The only words with -e are: *wege*, often, e.g., 10, 11; 11, 3; 20, 4; *stânde* 24, 1 (: *stannd* 27, 6; *stând* 30, 1); *râte* 'Ratschläge' 41, 2, 'Berater' Ded. (: *rât* 51, 6); *stâbe* 64, 13; *dienste* 76, 1; *wurme* 85, 4 (: *wûrm* 26, 7).

§7. The i-stems have umlaut in the plural and apocopate except *wurme* 85, 4 (1×): *wûrm* 26, 7; other examples: *stând* 30, 1; *fünd* 85, 3; *sprûch* 21, 8; *gesst* 21, 8; 41, 3; *esst* 29, 2; 79, 7; *wechselpâlig* 29, 7; *plaspâlig* 'Blasebälge' 75, 3; *zâhern* d. pl. 70, 6; *schwâncken* d. pl. 86, 2; *fâl* 'Fälle' 32, 1; *stósz* 74, 8; *gegenbürrf* 38, 1; *gegenwürffenn* d. pl. 7, 3; *ansleg* 13, 8; *schleg* 74, 8; *swertsleg* 99, 13; *pûxenschûsz* 99, 13. Consonant stems which early fell together with the i-stems: *fûsz* 27, 5; 64, 2; 77, 2; *zend* 'Zähne' 72, 2. But *beslus* 'Beschlüsse' 11, 5; *anfang* 27, 1; *vsprungen* d. pl. 51, 18.

§8. Words with umlaut in the pl. by analogy of the *i*-stems. After the pl. *-e* was dropped, the umlaut became a common means of making the pl., e.g., *wólf* 15, 2; 15, 8; *ránckh* 40, 4; *stóckh* 42, 1; 94, 7; *róckh* 97, 7; *schálckh* 38, 8; *tág* 100, 10 (3×); *fasttág* 51, 2; *feyrtág* 9, 3; *feyrtágen* 88, 2 (:tag 81, 10); *freythóf* 90, 6; *stúel* 91, 5; *pischofstúel* 91, 5; *támpf* 'Dämpfe' 28, 5; *scháden* 13, 5; *mángel* 73, 11; *stáffel* 27, 6 (:staffel 26, 2); *hándel* 29, 4; 64, 7; *pólster* 14, 14; *hámern* d. pl. 75, 3; *kópff* 15, 1; *petelkásten* 87, 8 (:casten 87, 8); *vógel* 24, 5; 85, 4; *gáling* 'Galgen' 89, 3; *petelórden* 97, 10; *gedánckh* 'Gedanken' 25, 10 (:gedanckh 25, 10); *glüber* 'Gelober' 98, 8. But without umlaut in both sg. and pl.: *schúler* 12, 2; *vorlauffer* 15, 6; *stathalter* 17, 13; *wachter* 59, 3; *kramer* 94, 12; *seydennater* 85, 5; *vorlauffern* d. pl. 13, 4 and many others.

§9. The *r*-stems also take the umlaut in the pl., e.g., *brúeder* 28, 6; *váter* 6, 5 (4×); *mituáder* 99, 14; *altváter* 54, 2; *swáger* 99, 16. The only exceptions are *zwen vater* 60, 5; *brúeder* 67, 2; *beder brúder* 39, 3. The original *u*-stems have umlaut and apocope, e.g., *sün* 'Söhne' 10, 2; 10, 10; 34, 6; *sünen* d. pl. 29, 7; *wollüst* 32, 5; *wollüsten* d. pl. 68, 10; *petelseck* 87, 4; *ártzt* 26, 4; *chór* 94, 4. Many words still retain forms with the unumlauted vowel: *vogel* 97, 9 (:vógel); *stúelen* d. pl. 91, 5; *pischof* pl. 17, 10; *pischofen* 69, 6; *pischouen* 89, 8; *monich* 97, 6 (:münich 13, 6, mónich 11, 7); *cardinaln* d. pl. 91, 10 (:cardinál 17, 12); *Papst* (:Bápst); *corper* 25, 2 (:córper 31, 5).

§10. Relatively few masculines have gone over to the *s*-stems. The only examples are: *órter* 21, 7; *órtter* 9, 5; 22, 7 (:ort a. pl. 60, 2; *ortten* d. pl. 8, 4 [4×]; *orten* 39, 5); *gótter* 5, 7 (6×); *abgótter* 20, 5; *abgóttern* d. pl. 17, 13; *góttern* 86, 3; *mánnern* 85, 2 (:mannen 94, 4; *man* n. pl. 96, 2); *dornern* d. pl. 34, 5. The phonetic forms are preserved in *geist* n. pl. 23, 2; *würm* n. pl. 26, 7; *leib* a. pl. 65, 7; *leiben* d. pl. 25, 4; *geisten* d. pl. 9, 2; *orten* d. pl. 39, 5.

## 2. NEUTER

§11. The g. sg. ends in *-s*; e.g., *púchs* 19, 3; *díngs* 26, 3; *worts* 7, 6; *volckhs* 6, 6; *ambts* 39, 7; *fleischs* 12, 4; *kinds* 29, 13 (:kindes 17, 1); *protts* 4, 15; *weibs* 24, 6. The monosyllabic *ja*-stems usually do not syncopate, e.g., *endes* 90, 6; 100, 9; *enndes* 53, 9; *móres*

'Meeres' 51, 15; 75, 5; *meres* 40, 4; *hóres* 16, 3; 59, 3; *óles* 58, 6; but *erbs* 32, 3. All the polysyllables syncopate, e.g., *hymelreichs* 8, 7; 32, 3; *erdtreichs* 10, 6; *gesichts* 75, 1; *gestirns* 26, 3; *gewichts* 30, 10. Many words ending in a sibilant (cf. §4) lose -s through syncope and assimilation, e.g., *hawsz* 19, 1; *antlitz* 15, 7; *kreytz* 40, 11; *gesetz* 7, 6; 8, 8; 10, 5; *fleisch* 34, 11; 37, 5 (: *fleischs* 28, 3; 33, 9; 50, 12; 51, 5); *slos* 85, 9; *des paradís* 30, 1; 30, 3; 31, 2; *des malefitz* 4, 15. By analogy infinitives and also other nouns may omit -s when the case is clearly shown by a pronominal form, e.g., *des verdienn* 6, 10; *des leiden* 9, 6; 20, 7; *desselben leiden* 52, 3; *des fasten* 36, 10; *des abentessen* 63, 4; *vorwissen* 40, 5; *des trawren* 46, 7; *des ansehen* 12, 3 (: *des leidens* 59, 10; *seins neuen sterbens* 66, 4; *seines ableibens* 82, 4; *seins verdiens* 55, 9); *des prot* 65, 7; *des hyrn* 28, 13; *des posen nichding* 24, 4; *des meszopfer* 65, 8; *des pater noster* 100, 1; *des pronomen oder wortlein* 63, 5.

§12. The d. sg. apocopates, but the monosyllabic *ja*-stems usually retain -e, e.g., *ende* 8, 1; 10, 2; 10, 10; 20, 5; 21, 4; 24, 5; *ennde* 10, 2; 13, 4; 29, 3; 43, 17; *móre* 28, 12; 28, 14; 29, 3; *hóre* 23, 7; *pilde* 86, 5; *óle* 61, 2; *gepáre* 'Geberde' 88, 6; one *a*-stem *lande* nearly always has -e, e.g., 39, 16; 45, 7; 75, 5: *mór* 16, 1; *ól* 93, 2; *hyrn* 22, 3; *hyren* 88, 1; *netz* 65, 8; *weibszpild* 99, 15; *himmelreich* 37, 7.

The weak noun 'Auge' has in the d. sg. *awge* 51, 12: *awg* 44, 11; 51, 12. 'Ohr' has one weak d. sg. *in aim yedē oren* 68, 6. 'Herz' has, besides the regular weak d. sg. *hertzen* 11, 7; 15, 7; 17, 1; 22, 7, the strong forms *hertze* 14, 11 (1×): *hertz* 13, 3 (9×).

§13. The a. sg. retains -e in the *ja*-stems, e.g., *ende* 7, 7; 18, 3; 19, 3; 21, 1; *móre* 27, 10; *feldhóre* 23, 7; *pette* 'Bett' 74, 5: *erb* 37, 9.

§14. In the pl. the neuter *a*-stems usually have the phonetic forms: n. pl., e.g., *ding*, *wort*, *kind* (: *kinde* 53, 9), *weib*, *hawp* 'Haupter,' *ambt* 48, 8; *tyer* 7, 1; *kol* 79, 4; *klaid* 30, 4; *krawt* 26, 3; *gepet* 23, 5 (: *pete* 14, 14; *gepete* 47, 1 [2×]); *tüech* 30, 2; *püech* 12, 7; *liecht* 21, 1; *rad* 13, 1; *jar* 8, 4; *swein* 64, 11; *ros* 48, 8; *vas* 36, 14; *in zway fach* 45, 7; d. pl. *kinden* 12, 1; *ambten* 23, 8; *landen* 6, 4; *klai-den* 45, 9; *vassen* 36, 14; *weiben* 64, 5 (: *weibern* 40, 8; 96, 1); *krauten* 73, 12; *lieden* 'Liedern' 88, 3; *hawpen* 'Hauptern' 91, 17; *pisthumben* 17, 6. The word *leich* is neuter (cf. *das leich* 90, 7)

and has the regular *a*-stem pl. *leich*, e.g., 90, 7. The monosyllabic *ja*- and *u*-stems retain *-e* in about half of the forms: *pilde* 85, 8 (4×); *glencke* 91, 8; *pild* 6, 10 (5×); *öl* 29, 4; *kytz* a. pl. 'junge Ziegen' 100, 13; *stuckh* 5, 7; 13, 11; 67, 9. All the other words in *ge*-apocopate, e.g., *geschäfft* n. pl. 28, 14; *geslācht* 26, 7; *gestyrn* 41, 5; *glide* 54, 11 (8×); *mitglide* 28, 6 (3×); *gelide* 24, 6 : *glid* 17, 12 (14×); *mitglid* 28, 6; *gelid* 32, 1 (4×); *erdviech* n. pl. 26, 7. The *wa*-stem *knye* occurs in the n. pl. 84, 3; a. pl. 82, 5; 93, 3.

Analogical plurals: *kinde* 44, 9; 53, 9; 68, 4 (: *kind*, *kinder*); *lande* 15, 1. 'Herz' always has a strong pl.: *hertz*, e.g., 5, 3; 22, 5; 30, 7; 34, 5; 71, 4; 77, 5; once in *ewre hertze* 5, 3.

§15. Neuter *s*-stems: *ayr* 88, 2; *pleter* 'Blätter' 40, 4; *kelber* 65, 1; *rinder* 7, 1. Analogical plurals in *er*: *püecher* 12, 2; *büecher* 7, 2; *pilder* 1, 5; *drümer* 13, 7 (sg. *drüme* 68, 7); *heüser* 39, 8, *gotszhewser* 9, 3; 86, 4, *huerhewser* 98, 6; *güter* 15, 6; *kinder* 60, 10 (but usually *kind*); *klaider* 66, 6; *völckher* 10, 4, *völcker* 58, 11; *weiber* 64, 5; 91, 10 (: *weib*); *mitglider* 84, 6; *örter* 10, 6; d. pl. *weibern* 40, 8; *güetern* 48, 9; *völckern* 65, 6; *grabtüechern* 71, 3; *eeweibern* 76, 4; *gotszhewsern* 88, 4; *springhewsern* 24, 5; *löchern* 97, 1; *püchern* 12, 2; *kinder* d. pl. (for *kinden*?) 51, 4. One *s*-stem has gone over to the *a*-stems: a. pl. *seine lamb*, *meine lamb* 89, 6.

### 3. FEMININE

§16. In the n. sg. nearly all of the strong feminines apocopate *-e*. It is retained in: *ere*, *glawbe*, *helle* (: *hell*), *lere*, *plüe* 'Blüte' 26, 1; 29, 2; *purde* (: *purd* 52, 5); *rede*; *sage* 'Säge' 39, 4; *schande* 14, 5; *sele* (: *sel* 11, 8); *vorpete*, *vnere*, *vnrüe*.

In like manner the abstracts (OHG. *-ī*) are usually without ending, e.g., *hytz*, *kelt*, *trew*, *swār*, *wirm* 'Wärme,' *dürr*, *finster*, *faisst* 31, 2; *morgenrôt* 10, 7; *lār* 30, 10. *-e* is retained only in *hōhe* 60, 6; *völle* 21, 8; *volle* 91, 8; *weihe* 94, 1 (: *weich* 58, 2); *wirde* 20, 4, *wierde* 85, 8 (: *wierd* 22, 7); *wyrme* 28, 5 (: *wirm*).

§17. The following strong forms are found in the oblique cases of the sg., retaining *-e*: g. d. sg. *erde*, *ere*, *freyde*, *helle*, *lere*, *lüge*, *sünde*, *weihe*, *welde* 19, 11; *gnade* 64, 12; *mitte*; *deckhe* 17, 5; *rüe*; *schame* 73, 12 (: *scham* 73, 12); a. sg. (besides the above): *rede*,

*fürpete*, *straffe*, *halbe* 'Hälfte' 49, 4; *styege* 'Treppe' 58, 1 (: *styeg* 58, 1); *stimme* 85, 4; *gabe* 61, 2; *múe* 40, 2.

Strong are: *leber* g. sg. 28, 5; *auf erd* 7, 1; 8, 7; *untz* a. sg. 92, 2.

§18. In the pl. -e is retained in very few cases: *hende* 27, 5, the usual form (: *hend* 14, 3, several times), *hande* 58, 12; *zwo weihe* 94, 4; *lüge* 51, 4 (: *lügen* 9, 7, the usual form); *ewr lende sóllen gegürt sein* 51, 8; 64, 13; *máre* 15, 7.

§19. Strong forms with apocope: *sel* 23, 3 (usually *selen*); *glos* 15, 3; *sprach* 15, 3; *weld* 22, 10; *drey gnad* 55, 9; *zwo frag* 7, 1; *zal* 7, 1; *tugent* 4, 11; *sünd* 19, 3; *drey gab* 43, 4; *tat* 25, 10; *vier zeit* 71, 3; *schrift* 12, 2; *zwo wurtz* 36, 10; *kunst* 12, 7; *sach* 36, 1 (usually *sachen*); *zwo weihe* 94, 4; *drey tagrays* 71, 1; *vrkund* 42, 6; *vrkünd* 11, 6; *weinper* 43, 1; *gayz* 100, 12; *drey gepurd* 10, 7; *geschicht* 40, 2; *winckelheytrat* 99, 14; *vnee* 99, 13; *stet* 'Stätten' 30, 3; *prun-áder* 45, 6; *hüf* 'Hüften' 12, 6; *stym*.

§20. Here also belong the words in -schaft, -hait, -kait, -nusz, -ung, -ey, e.g., *aigenscheft*<sup>1</sup> 10, 5; *herschafft* 88, 8; *brüderscheft* 47, 5; *zwo Brüderschaft* 47, 4; *gwonhait* 17, 4; *kranckhait* 81, 8; *zwo gerechtikait* 4, 14; *zeugnusz* 11, 6; *pildnusz* 15, 4; *drey verainigung* 10, 3; *verhaissung* 12, 3; *vier verwandlung* 63, 8; *artzeney* 70, 1; *ketzerey* 16, 5 (: *ketzereyen* 9, 5); *drey parthey* 38, 8.

Words of Latin origin: *zwo person* 7, 4; *drey person* 7, 7 (: *drey personen* 7, 6); *zwo natur* 7, 9; *zwelf legion* 54, 6; *vesper* 80, 7; *historj* 12, 3 (: *hystorien* 86, 3); *cerimonj* 17, 6 (: *ceremonien* n. pl. 58, 14).

§21. Phonetic forms are preserved in: *drey nacht* 99, 16; *zwo müter* 60, 5; *vil müeter* 60, 5; *schwester* 49, 13 (: *swestern* 98, 2).

## B. WEAK DECLENSION

### 1. MASCULINE

§22. The weak masculines regularly apocopate in the n. sg., e.g., *sam*, *pot*, *zewg*, *drack* 'Drache,' *gart*, *narr*, *leo* 'Löwe,' *nom*, *ochs*, *fürst*, *knab*, *dót* 'Pate,' *pfaff*, *prelat*. -e is retained only in three words: *same*, e.g., 94, 6; *nome* 9, 1; *ene* 'Ahn' 27, 6.

<sup>1</sup> The forms in -scheft are phonetic (cf. Paul, *MHD. Gram.*<sup>6</sup>, §127, Anm. 1). But in the g. d. sg. Berthold always has -schaft. The umlaut was felt as a sign of the plural.

In the following *-n* has been leveled into the n. sg.: *habern* 34, 11; *samen* 41, 4 (: *sam*, *same*); *loden* 30, 2; *magen* 83, 1; *aschen* 16, 5; 63, 8; *nachkomen* 91, 5.

§23. The g. sg. is regular, e.g., *menschen* 11, 8; *fürsten* 8, 3; *hellhawffen* 38, 4; *des leon* 84, 7. An analogical *-s* has been added in many words, e.g., *feldhauffens* 23, 7; *geuallens* 11, 9; *schmerzents* 74, 9; *menschens*, the usual form (: *menschen* [8×]); *nomens* 15, 7 (: *noms*, *nomes* 48, 5; *des nom* 6, 4); *willens* 10, 11 (: *willen*, less commonly); *zewgens* 11, 6; without ending: *des nom* 6, 4; *freyes will* 28, 14.

§24. Weak nouns that have become strong: *smertz* a. sg. 44, 10 (: *smertzen* a. sg. 36, 14; *schmertzen* 44, 16); *gart* a. sg. 33, 3 (: *weingarten* d. sg. 14, 12; a. sg. 100, 15); *hayd* 'Heiden' a. sg. 63, 7; *nom* d. sg. 7, 6; this form is very common besides *nome* 7, 10 and the regular weak form *nomen* 9, 2; *bey disem stoll* 'Stütze, Schriftstelle' 5, 4; 39, 5.

§25. Many nouns which later became weak are still strong, e.g., *gepaut auf den fels* 92, 1; *ruck* n. sg. 'Rücken' 64, 7; *rugk* a. sg. 86, 9; *rucks* g. sg. 14, 8; *zû ruck* 11, 7; *nackh* d. sg. 39, 6; *nack* a. sg. 36, 14; *frid* d. sg. 35, 8; *nutz* 18, 4; *prunn* d. sg. 7, 6; *waytz* a. sg. 'Weizen' 79, 6; *waitz* 82, 8; *pûchstab* d. sg. 13, 3 (: *pûechstaben* d. sg. 40, 11); *gedanck* d. sg. 36, 5; *adler* d. sg. 13, 2; *ains Christens* 35, 7 (MHG. *kristen*); *grosch* a. sg. 40, 5.

§26. Nouns from other declensions, having weak forms: *deines brüedern* 14, 8; *seiñ brüedern Esau* a. sg. 44, 10; *seines vattern* 34, 6; *wer seiñ brüedern hasst* 51, 3; *hyrten* g. sg. 14, 13; d. sg. 92, 1; a. sg. 91, 16.

§27. The pl. is regular: *hayden* 15, 4; *leben* 'Löwen' 23, 5; *gerhaben* 'Vormünder' 99, 14; *gesellen*; *hertzogen* 24, 6; *nieren* 51, 18; *perñ* 'Bären' 7, 1; *pûechstaben* 19, 7; *panckharden* 10, 11; *panckharten* 32, 3; *samen* 10, 6; *mannen* 'Männer' 16, 3 (the original pl. is also found: *man* 96, 2); with umlaut: *schâden* 13, 5; *dôten* a. pl. 60, 10; *dôt* a. pl. 60, 9 (: *doten* n. pl. 60, 10), etc.

§28. The nouns denoting relationship differ somewhat from the modern inflection. Old forms are preserved in the g. sg., e.g., *ewrs vater geist* 7, 7; 10, 4; *seines vater* 23, 5; *zû der gerechten gottes vatter allmächtigen* 6, 2, and in the pl., e.g., *brüeder* 8, 7; 67, 2; *brüder* 39, 3; *zwen vater* 60, 5.



The new forms are: g. sg. *brüders* 99, 16; *vatters* 5, 4 (5×), *vaters* 7, 5 (8×); pl. *väter* 6, 5 (7×), *vätter* 23, 8, *alltüdter* 13, 11; 54, 9; *drey väter* 60, 5; *brüeder* 28, 6 (3×); *prüder* 73, 8; *mitbrüeder* 83, 3; *swäger* 99, 16.

§29. The participial stems still have some phonetic forms in the pl., e.g., *fründ* 96, 2, *freünd* 46, 3; *feind* 30, 8 (4×), *kreytzfeind* 74, 3.

§30. The word *man* has the following declension: n. sg. *man* 4, 14; *ackerman* 41, 4; g. sg. *aines ordensman* 51, 8, but more commonly with -s, e.g., *mans* 15, 5; 99, 1, *manns* 46, 7; d. sg. *man* 100, 8; a. sg. *man* 6, 8; n. pl. *man* 96, 2, but more commonly *mannen* 16, 3, *ackermannen* 96, 4, *schefmanēn* 16, 1; once *männer* 91, 10; d. pl. *mannen* 94, 4; 91, 10. In compound words the pl. is usually made with -*lew*t, e.g., *ackerlew*t 41, 3; *scheflew*t 16, 1; *ambtlew*t 41, 5; *kawfleüt* 53, 4; *werchlew*t 85, 5; *kanlew*t 'Eheleute' 29, 13; 41, 3; *armleüt* 87, 9; d. pl. *geuatterlewten* 99, 14.

§31. A few weak forms are found among the proper names, e.g., g. sg. *Hannsens hawsscheins* (= *Ecolompadi*) 66, 7; *sand dionisien pûch* 23, 1; d. sg. *Matheûsen*, Ded., *nach Moysen* 12, 2 (: *Moysi* 12, 2); a. sg. *Margarethen* 99, 17; *Hannssen Schobsser*, end of Index; *Hansen Schobser*, end of Ded. (: *Hanns* a. sg. 60, 9); *Moysen* 53, 4.

## 2. NEUTER

§32. The n. sg. apocopates -e, e.g., *awg* 16, 4 (3×); *or* 43, 7; *hertz* 12, 9. The g. sg. regularly ends in -en: *hertzen* 30, 10 (5×); but more frequently the analogical form *hertzens* 22, 7 (9×) is found. d. sg. ends in -en, e.g., *in aîm yedē oren* 68, 6. Besides this we have the strong forms *awge* 51, 12; *hertze* 14, 11; or with apocope *awg* 44, 11; *jm hertz* 4, 14; 78, 1. The common d. sg. is *hertzen*, e.g., 11, 7 (17×). a. sg. is without -e, e.g., *hertz* 19, 8; *or* 12, 1. The pl. is regular: n. pl. *awgen* 17, 1 (3×), *augen* 64, 7 (1×); *oren* 41, 5; g. pl. *awgen* 28, 13; *oren* 28, 13. The word *hertz* is strong in the pl.; g. pl. *hertz* 15, 2 (2×); a. pl. 11, 7 (10×); *ehern* a. pl. 'Ähren' 82, 4 is a weak form of a strong noun.

## 3. FEMININE

§33. Only a few words retain -e in the n. sg.: *ame* 24, 9; *hacke* 39, 4; *bande* 69, 11; *erde* (: *erd* 10, 3). Otherwise the weak feminines

have apocope, e.g., *son* 25, 4; *rynd* 26, 3; *plûem* 30, 2; *nas* 41, 5; *mugkh*<sup>1</sup> 68, 6; *tawb* 68, 6.

-n has been analogically extended to the n. sg. in: *putzen* 'Pfütze' 68, 3; *milben* 68, 6; *aschen* 29, 11; *silben* 19, 9; 68, 7; *hawn* (MHG. *houwe*) 72, 2; *wunden wirt pald geschlagen* 100, 14; 74, 8; *porten* 'Borte' 76, 2; 85, 9; *hackñ* 77, 3; *weinreben* 77, 8; *masen* (MHG. *māse*) 35, 2; *ain ellen tûch* 79, 1; *ain suppen* 79, 3; *ain gassen* 30, 9; *ain ketten* 37, 6.

§34. The oblique cases are regular, eg., g. sg.: *erden* 9, 4 (: *erde* 10, 6); *kirchen* 14, 14; *partheyen* 16, 2; *sonnen* 21, 1; *sonnenliecht* 21, 1; *slangen* 34, 7; *frauen* 38, 11; *frawn* 85, 10 (: a. sg. *frawe* 86, 4; *hawszfraw* 51, 16); *salben* 39, 8; d. sg.: *erden* 12, 4; *schellen* 14, 8; *zymeln* 14, 8; *pfützen* 15, 9; *hûeren* 16, 4; *gnadñ* 21, 7; *aws giftiger wurtzñ* 9, 7; *vischsegen* 65, 8; *slangen* 20, 1 (: a. sg. *slang* 20, 1; 85, 2); *aus des mons finstern* 25, 4; *mit seiner flâmen* 27, 10; *in der wiegen* 29, 4; *in ainer gassen* 30, 9; *frauen* 41, 6; *aschen* 43, 8; *hacken* 43, 12; *auf der seiten gottes* 54, 12; *auf der aiñ seyttlen* 56, 2 (: *an einer seyt* 54, 12; *seytt* 38, 6); *pixen* 87, 7; *lacken* ('Pfütze') *der armûet* 80, 11; *mit sawerr salsen* 64, 13; *mit ainer besaittñ hârpfen* 88, 3; *mit khainer lebentigen adern* 90, 2; *von der solen bis auf die schaidel* 91, 8; *rûetten* 66, 1; *aschen* 72, 3; *smitten* 'Schmiede' 75, 3; *vnnder der erden* 85, 3; *zû seiner hawszfrauen tochter oder enenkel oder swestern* 99, 16; *spe-luncken* 60, 11; *alben* 'Chorhemd' 64, 14; a. sg.: *masen* 33, 3; *silben* 19, 9; *auf lincke seyttlen* 38, 6; *putzen* 19, 3; *frawn* 23, 5; *frawn* 85, 10; *erden* 24, 10.

§35. The strong a. sg. *salb* 87, 7 is found by the side of *salben* g. sg. 87, 7. *vntz* 92, 2 is still strong. *zung* d. sg. 14, 8; 19, 10; a. sg. 36, 3; 38, 2 (4×) has become strong in the sg., but the pl. is *zungen*, e.g., 5, 6; 85, 9.

§36. Strong feminines with weak forms: *swestern* n. pl. 98, 5; a. pl. 98, 2; *witiben* n. pl. 87, 9; *trebern* a. pl. 'Treber' 32, 6. The latter is a double pl.; cf. Weigand, *D.W.*<sup>5</sup>, II, 1065.

## C. FLUCTUATION AND CHANGE IN GENDER

### 1. FLUCTUATION

§37. a) Masc. and fem.: *nach dem tawf* 3, 2; *jm tawf* 17, 3; 58, 8 : *die tawf* 36, 12; 70, 8; *nach seiner tawf* 33, 8; *iñ firm* 'Fir-

<sup>1</sup> According to Weigand, *D.W.*<sup>5</sup>, the Bavarian form is *mugken*.

mung' 61, 3: *in der firm* 61, 4; *des heyrat* 97, 2; *den heyrat nit züegen* 99, 17: *die heyrat* a. sg. 99, 14; 99, 15; *erst zesamgefügte heyrat* 99, 11; *von zeitlichem wollust* 1, 3; 15, 3; *von irem wollust* 28, 7: *fleischlicher wollust* g. sg. 44, 2.

b) Masc. and neut.: *erster tail* 19, 6; *denselben tail* 80, 11; *dritter tail* 80, 11: *zway tail* 28, 15; 80, 11; *den menschen* a. sg. 99, 1: *das erst mensch* 98, 3; *das plöder mensch* 33, 2; *Do von anfang [got] den menschen gemacht, hat [got] denselbñ gemacht* ains aīn man, das and' mensch ain weib (Gen. 1:27) 99, 1.

c) Masc. and neut.: *jrrsal* masc. 15, 2: *das trüebzal* 53, 2; *jñ jrem trüebzal* 23, 5.

## 2. CHANGES

§38. a) Masc. where MHG. is predominantly fem. A few words which are otherwise fem. have masc. forms: *Fronleib cristi ist der lieb wider den neyd*. *Firmung ist der hoffnung wider den geytz*. *Olüg ist starckher verharrüg wider die traghait* 58, 9; *der gerechtikait* n. sg. 58, 9. *aschñ* n. sg. 16, 5; *awsñ aschñ* 16, 5; *aīn form* a. sg. 19, 4; *ersten form* 21, 3; *des forms* 30, 2; *der form* n. sg. 66, 2; *seinen gesund* 'Gesundheit' 45, 10; *bey seiñ gesund* 28, 13; *schrift* masc. 13, 4; otherwise fem., *diser sententz* n. sg. 77, 8; *an disen sententz* 64, 5; *am stiren* 'Stirne' 61, 4; *güter traid* ('Getreide') *den got gesdet* hat 43, 7.

§39. Where MHG. is predominantly masc.: *der gwallt* n. sg. 1, 8; *gwallts* g. sg. 3, 1; *vollen gwalt* 6, 6; *deiñ fleischlichen last* 50, 6; *ain güter lob* 22, 5; *seinen lob* 9, 1; *des luffts* 23, 6; *in den luft* 24, 7; *leiblichs lusts* 46, 7; *des vnzymlichen lust* 51, 8; *von zeitlichem wollust* 1, 3; 15, 3; *kainem wollust* 42, 8 (: *fleischlicher wollust* g. sg. 44, 2); *fleischlichen vnflat* 54, 4; *solhen jrrthumb* 39, 1; *den weisthüb* 44, 9; *der werchzewg* 43, 10.

§40. Where MHG. is predominantly neut.: *ainen oder mer drümer* 'Trümmer' 13, 7; *ainen solhen durcheinander od' confusion* 13, 10; *in richtigen model gegossen* 89, 4; *in den tabernackel* 65, 3; *tenne, tenn* a. sg. 24, 5; 82, 8; *aufñ tenne* 24, 5; *pösen vngemach* 85, 11.

§41. b) Fem. where MHG. is masc.: *vnmaßsige abtrag* 53, 1; *vnder der gürtel* 51, 18; *bey der gürtel* 64, 14; *zñ seiner füesschamel* 29, 11; *mit merer* ('grösserem') *jñnhalt* 4, 1; *auff welher plüem* 10, 3; *dise vnderschid* 17, 7; *solhe vnderschid* 13, 4.

§42. The following are fem. in agreement with MHG.: All the words in *-nusz*, e.g., *ausz der gedächtnusz* 7, 8; *zû gôtlicher pildnusz* 7, 8; *nach seiner gleichnusz* 22, 3; 23, 1; *dieselb fâncknusz* 37, 7; *in verslossner fâncknuss* 83, 5; *bey christenlicher gehorsam* 6, 9; *die vngheorsam* 36, 13; *der gehorsam* g. sg. 37, 2; *seiner rechtlichen gwer* 'Verteidigung' 29, 7; *ain prantmailige gewissenn* 13, 10; *vor d' tûr deiner wissen* 42, 4; *mit seiner masz* 45, 9; *in was masz jr messet/ in derselben wirt ew hinwider gemessen* 84, 1; *in aller masz* 7, 5; *mit menschlicher glidmas* 28, 1; *mit sawerr salsen* 'Salz' 64, 13; *bis auf die schaidel* 91, 8; *die schosz der kirchen* 24, 9; *in deiner schosz* 24, 9; *dise vnderricht* 4, 14; *in mündlicher vnderricht* 'Unterweisung' 12, 1; 28, 6; *mit gantzer vngestûmb* 48, 5; *mit grosser vngestûem* 100, 9; *zû ewiger wee* 29, 2; *dise verlust* 87, 7.

§43. c) The following are neuter: (1) In contrast to MHG.: *das klainest fûnckel* 4, 12; *mit diemûetigem gepäre* 'Gebärde' 88, 6; *jm geschicht* 10, 7; *das and' geschicht* 43, 17; *das gantze gesegente gestalt* 63, 3; *todlichs geuerde* 'Gefahr' 73, 12; *das kol* 'Kohle' 75, 3; *das erst mensch* 98, 3; 99, 1 (but usually masc.); *das paw* 'Gebäude' 79, 1; *das smertzen* 50, 11 (this may be a substantivized infinitive); *sein aygen tadel* a. sg. 11, 1; *das widerpart* 31, 9; *ain gedenckh zedel* a. sg. 62, 3. (2) Neuter in agreement with MHG.: *zû gemainem almosen* 87, 6; *das new gesang* 88, 3; *dits lobgesang* 47, 2; *das harnasch des liechts* 39, 5; 61, 4; *kóder* 55, 5; 60, 7; *ins kot* 18, 5; *das kot*<sup>1</sup> 39, 4; *das leich* 'Leiche' 90, 7; and the regular neut. *a*-stem pl. *ire tode leich* 90, 7; *von aym ort an das ander* 38, 1; *mit vnserm pete* 53, 6; *das recht tranck* 62, 1 (Luther: *der rechte tranck*, John 6:55); *das trúebzal* 53, 2; *das ander wang* 51, 10; *das ander wickel* 30, 2. The foreign word *cherub* has become neut., e.g., *das ander cherub* 85, 2.

## CHAPTER 2. ADJECTIVES

§44. In general the declension of the adjective and the distribution of strong and weak forms correspond to the modern usage. The exceptions may be classified under three heads: (a) strong ending where the modern is weak; (b) endingless where the modern is strong; (c) weak where the modern is strong.

<sup>1</sup> Kluge (*Etym. Wb.*<sup>9</sup>, p. 222) gives *kot* as Middle German, due to Luther's translation of the Bible, and Upper German as *kat*.

§45. (a) Strong where modern German requires the weak form. These cases are more numerous than (b) and (c). Most of the exceptions occur after *jhener*, *yeder*, *solher*; e.g., n. sg. *ain yeder póser geyst* 24, 4; *ain yeder gûeter clostermensch* 97, 2; *solher trifacher v'stand* 14, 1; *yglicher hoher priester* 65, 6; *yeder verständig* 5, 5; *diser formlicher glawb* 5, 5; *solher weltlicher frid* 24, 4; *der warer fels* 92, 2; g. sg. always has the strong ending, e.g., *ewigs tods* 4, 15; *annders tails* 8, 1; *in krafft solhs volmáchtigs gwalts* 89, 6; *póses feindes* 92, 6; *pecher kaltes wassers* 79, 3; a weak g. sg. occurs only once, *guten wesens* 71, 9, and one analogical double form, *menschlichens fleischs* 28, 15; d. sg. *irem geistlichem tod* 68, 3; *mit yeglichem andáchtigem cristglaubigem mēschen* 91, 1; *berúertem seinem gútem freund* 46, 3; *bey solhem gemeinem vnserm vbel* 32, 7; g. sg. fem. *diser ellender zeit* 16, 1; *yeder leiblicher creatur* 29, 9; in *solhes gottlichens willens* 38, 2 the adjective was influenced by the noun; *seines aigens vbel* 44, 6; *des lawttern vn̄ vnurhabts prot* 65, 7; *ires heiligs vnd strenges lebens* 85, 11; d. sg. masc. *zû seinem heiligem tempel* 10, 3; *dem künftigem jrem Messie* 10, 4; *aus vnserm gegenbürtigem pitterm pósem stand* 31, 8; *mit seinem vnuermailigtem zartem leib* 55, 4; d. sg. neut. *in seinem warhaftigem wort* 11, 9; *dem gantzen menschlichem geschlácht* 27, 5; *ainem yedem christenlichem volckh* 95, 2; *in ainem gewissen hebreischem ewangelj* 69, 7; neut. pl. *solhe frómbde werch* 83, 2; *seine vorergangene geschópf* 12, 7; g. pl. *seiner dreyer sün* 87, 1.

§46. Here belong also the adjectives which are inflected in the predicate contrary to modern usage, e.g., *zû lesst jren faisten herrē Eglon toden finden* . . . 10, 4; *do der jüngling dits wort gehort* . . . *ist er trawriger vom herren gangen* 40, 11; *auswendig vor den menschen wil er tugenhaft erscheinen, jnwendig ist er voller vntugent* 52, 7; *der leib christi ist* . . . *voller gnaden / vntodlich vnnd gotlich* 68, 2; *ich hab mich selbs auch vntüchtigen geacht zû dir personlich zekōmen* 84, 4; *vnser hayler ist armer auf ain eszlīn gesessen* 87, 6; *Derselben werch seīn sibene leiblich vnd sibene geistlich* 87, 1; *ain lieb ist gar lāre, die and' ist nur halbe* 48, 6; *will ist zwayerlay, gûter vn̄ póser* 38, 1.

§47. In two cases the masc. n. sg. *voller* is used with a fem. noun: *die weld ist voller lüge* 15, 8; *Dise stat ist voller poszhait* 30, 9. This usage spread considerably in later times and all feeling that *voller*

is a masc. n. sg. was lost (cf. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language*, §111, 8). In one instance Berthold makes *voll* agree with the noun depending on it: *zeitliche freyd ist eytel vnd lár / awswendig ist sy süesz / jnwendig volles gifts* 48, 6. In another case *voll* remains uninflected: *ain póse zung ist vol tódlichs vbels* 51, 3.

§48. b) The adjective is endingless where modern usage requires the strong form, e.g., n. sg. masc. *ain solh hochfertig mensch* 9, 7; *ain jung mensch* 50, 11; *ain reych mensch* 75, 1; *der vnser gütigister, senftist, mildist vn̄ parmhertzigist vater ist* 32, 3; fem. *ander hailsam lere* 11, 1; neut. *als óbrist geschöpf* 19, 6; *ain lár vas* 88, 12; *ain fliessund wasser* 28, 12; *new testament* 12, 8; *war fleisch* 67, 9 (: *warer mensch* 67, 9).

§49. The n. a. sg. fem. and neut. are without ending after the definite article, but the fem. ends in *-e* after the indefinite article and the possessives, e.g., *die ander frag* 7, 2; *die gút erde* 10, 6; *die heilig schrift* 12, 2; *das klainist fúnckel* 4, 12; *das hóchst gút* 5, 2; *das alt gesetz* 6, 9; *jedes gút werch* 22, 9; but *ain ewige person* 9, 6; *sein gottliche weiszheit* 12, 5; *sein leibliche müter* 10, 3; *jr falsche lere* 13, 6; *khain anndere schrift* 14, 4.

§50. With few exceptions the n. a. pl. masc. and fem. apocopate *-e*, e.g., *gestymbt fals lerer* 16, 2; *solh abtrünig lerer* 15, 3; *heilig váter* 17, 10; *ainlitzig geist* 19, 8; *vil teutsch* 6, 4; *zwo widerwártig natur* 7, 9; *drey sonder person*, 7, 9; *all ander aigen tugent vnd krefft* 4, 11. Exceptions: *wider alle creatur* 9, 7; *bewárte schrift* 14, 14. But the *-e* (<OHG. *-iu*) of the n. a. pl. neut. is never lost, e.g., *güete werch* 4, 13; *leibliche ding* 5, 6; *alle glid* 6, 4; *zway güdene pild* 85, 2. The single exception which I have noted is *sündig werch* 35, 6.

The adjective in *jüdisch gesláchts* g. sg. is without ending for reasons of euphony.

§51. c) An adjective preceded by a strong adjective has a tendency to become weak, e.g., *bey rechtem gemainen wege* 8, 5; *aus lebentigem freydenreichen got* 11, 9; *zû allem gúten* 9, 8; *loblichem alten gebrauch* 13, 5; *mit warem heiligen geist* 14, 9; *in mitte verkerter teutschen nation* 30, 5; *berúerter falschen lere* 13, 5; *von eingeleibter götlichen warhait* 8, 1; *in zerstórter rómischen kirch* 66, 4. Or without any preceding adjective: *zû haylsamen nutz* 22, 9; *zû ósterlichen zeyt* 58, 7; *von got als besten werchmaister* 31, 9. Or the weak adjective

may come first: *aus gemainen menschlichem fleisch* 34, 3. Or the forms may alternate: *mit erstem vnrainen todlichem leib* 68, 3.

§52. After the personal pronoun there is fluctuation, e.g., *wir plóde menschen* 56, 2; *wir krancke menschen* 19, 5; *vns tewtsch* 24, 2; *wir tewtschen* 12, 1; 63, 7. In the vocative the weak forms are used: *Lieben brüder* 82, 5; *Liebē sün* 86, 7.

### CHAPTER 3. ADVERBS

§53. The ending *-e* (MHG. *-e*; OHG. *-o*, *-a*, *-u*) is apocopated, e.g., *fast* 5, 7; *pald* 9, 4; *schier* 12, 1; *gern* 13, 5; *sanft* 14, 14 (adj. *senfft* 50, 11); *hart* 13, 13 (adj. *hertt* 74, 2); *weyt* 11, 5; *vnbillich* 8, 2; *zwar* 21, 8; *gerat* 20, 4, *gerad* 20, 8; *vor* 'vorher' 63, 10; *allain* 21, 3; *heut* 12, 1; *oben* 7, 1; *hieunden* 31, 1; *hinden* 16, 6; *hald* 43, 16 (in *oder hald wie diser offnersünder*, Luke 18:11); *yez* 31, 8; *ytz* 9, 8; *yetz* 6, 4. The negative is *nit*.

§54. Many adverbs end in *-en* contrary to the modern usage, e.g., *ainsten* 5, 1; 10, 6; 52, 3 (: *vnderainst* 17, 2); *warumben* 39, 4 (: *widerumb* 8, 8); *hámischen* 36, 5; 71, 8; *hohenawen* 77, 13 (<MHG. *enouwe*; *nawberts* 77, 13 <MHG. *enouwe*+*wert*); *von hinn* 23, 8; *vonhīn* 30, 1; *von wañ* 14, 3; *von ferren* 25, 1. Others in *-en* are old dative plurals: *vnderwegen* 85, 10; *zewegen bringen* 48, 4; *vorzeiten* 5, 3; or g. sg. fem. *dermassen* 4, 12; but without *-en*: *rückling* (MHG. *rückelingen*) 51, 4; *allenthalb* 6, 6 (:but mostly *-halben*, e.g., *allenthalben* 4, 12; *ewrñthalben* 78, 1; *deszhalben* 24, 5; *seinenthalben* 28, 7; *leibszhalben* 'was den Leib anbetrifft' 30, 1; *ambthalben* 65, 8); *zesam* 14, 14 (: *zesamen* 16, 2); *jñ gemain* 'im allgemeinen' 5, 1.

§55. The suffix *-lich* is very productive and can be attached to almost any adjective, noun, participle, or other suffix, e.g., *gleichlich* 47, 10; *strenglich* 73, 12; *rechtlich* 8, 9; *leichtlich* 20, 4; *offennlich* 13, 10; *gwislich* 13, 1; *pószlich* 1, 5; *swárllich* 74, 5; *keyschlich* 77, 15; *samentlich vnnd sonnderlich* 47, 4; *klerlich* 31, 6; *hübschlich* 49, 5. *smáchlich* 51, 2; *schántlich* 9, 3; *ratlich* 'im Rat' 69, 10; *klósterlich* 'im Kloster' 79, 3; *petlich* 'mit Gebet' 87, 5; *natürlich* 'von Natur' 12, 5; *sacramentlich* 'durchs S.' 21, 4; *tagzeitlich* 14, 14. *veraintlich* 6, 2; *bezwungenlich* 78, 5; *verporgenlich* 5, 3; *erschrockenlich* 36, 13. *vergebenlich* 39, 15; *vnuerschaidenlich* 47, 7; *cristenlich* 13, 13; *vnwidersprechenlich* 39, 11; *tawgentlich* (MHG. meaning)

64, 4; *aigentlich* 10, 10. *herttigklich* 81, 3; *fesstiklich* 30, 4; *volliklich* 40, 4; *uberflüssigklich* 43, 7; *diemütiklich* 9, 7; *geduldiklich* 9, 7; *parmhertziklich* 19, 4. *gnügsamlich* 52, 4; *gehorsamlich* 8, 9; *haylsamlich* 25, 6; *scheinberlich* 5, 5.

§56. Berthold uses many old adverbs which are dialectic or no longer in use, e.g., *fürbas* 54, 2; *vrbering* 34, 9; *vrbaring* 88, 4; *yetzund* 37, 5; *etwo* 79, 3; 80, 7; 84, 7; *anhaime* 'nach Hause' 72, 8; 92, 8; *menigfert* 'manchmal' 99, 13; *etwan* Ded., *füran* 'in Zukunft' 14, 5; *herdan* 14, 3; *obenan* 78, 3; *nahennd* 27, 3, *nahet* 'nahe' 20, 4; *dickmals* 'oft' 15, 4; *ábich* 'falsch' 14, 14; *jndert* 8, 6; *nyndert* 14, 2; *nynderthin* 48, 10; *hinach* 'nach diesem Leben' 20, 3; *desmer* 'desto mehr' 53, 6.

Many modern compound adverbs are still distinct in Berthold, e.g., *ymb sonst* 21, 6; *on mittel* 'unmittelbar' 17, 7; *durch mittl* 'vermittels' 20, 3; *in gemain* 27, 5; *in Sonderhait* 27, 5; 39, 7; *zû ruck* 11, 7; *hinder rucks* 14, 8; *kains wegs* 17, 13; *der gestalt* 'deshalb' 14, 4; *der gleich* 'ebenfalls' 13, 13; *but zuschanden* 10, 4; *vnderwegen* 13, 1; *vonstundan* 21, 7; *gleicherweis* 21, 7; *langzeither* 86, 1; *von obenherab* 95, 8.

§57. Correlative adverbs are very frequent in the comparative, e.g., *yemer . . . . ye bas* 75, 2; *ye höher . . . . jeweniger* 29, 11; *yelenger ye mer* 68, 10; *ye offter . . . . ye sorglicher* 70, 8; *yemer . . . . destmer* 22, 4; *yehöher . . . . destnidrer* 32, 4; *yeswärer . . . . ye bas . . . . :dest bas* 75, 3. Other correlatives are: *ain weil . . . . ander weil* 37, 5; *bisweil hin . . . . bisweil her* 38, 7; *als nahend als der ander* 50, 10; *ymb souil mer . . . . alsuil* 22, 4; *in masz . . . . dermasz* 'wie . . . . so' 91, 10; *aintweders* (MHG. *ein+deweder*) . . . . *oder* 73, 15.

§58. Numerous examples of adverbial genitives whose second element is *-mal*, *-weis*,<sup>1</sup> *-zeit*, e.g., *yetzmals* 'jetzt' 15, 3; *ditsmals* 15, 8; *numals* 'nun' 15, 7; *eemals* 22, 4; *vormals* 14, 5; *nachmals* 15, 7; *ainsmals* 15, 9; *dickmals* 15, 4; *dickermals* 39, 12; *desselbenmals* 'damals' 65, 3; *rachiger weis* 76, 8; *genötter weis* 38, 8; *verzagterweis* 44, 10; *gleicherweisz* 34, 11; *diser weis* 'auf diese Art; folglich; dann' 39, 12; *newlicher zeit* 31, 2; *verschiner zeit* 'vergan-

<sup>1</sup> *-weis* was on the way to become a regular suffix. Cf. the adjectives *onwegweis* 'ungangbar' 16, 2; *strafweis* 'als Strafe' 57, 3; *puoes weis* 'zur Busze' 98, 7.



gener Z.' 37, 3; *kurtz uerschiner zeit* 39, 16. Other adverbial genitives: *ainstails* 78, 6; *kains wegs* 33, 2; *kains fuegs* 85, 9; *meins bedunckhens* 99, 14; *dergestallt* 34, 11; *beder seyt* 38, 1; *deszhalben* 38, 4; *desgleichs* 36, 9; *dergleychen* 38, 1; *vbrigs* 'vergebens' 39, 5; *stättigs* 42, 3.

## COMPARISON

§59. The comparative suffix is *-er*. The vowel is usually umlauted in monosyllables, e.g., *ellter* 6, 7; *lenger* 8, 4; *klärer* 7, 9 (: *klarer* 19, 9); *pölder* 'bälde' 34, 4; *ergers* 47, 10; *höher* (: *hoher* 40, 6 [5×]). Without umlaut are *poser* 'böser' 20, 4; *junger* 8, 8; *grossere* 28, 2 (1×); *destschoner* 87, 4; *klüger* 68, 10.

Monosyllabic comparatives: *ee* 38, 11; *bas* 14, 13; *bas jrren* 'mehr irren' 16, 2 (the adjective is *besser*); *mer* 20, 8.

Double comparatives: *bas gelegner* 55, 1; *wierser* 9, 7; 64, 4; *wyser* 32, 4; *der merer* 'gröszere' 6, 2.

The following forms are different from the modern: *ferrer* 5, 4; *nächner* 'näher' 50, 10; *gleich* also forms a comparative *gleicher* 22, 1.

The conjunction after the comparative is *dann*, e.g., 7, 1; 8, 4.

§60. The superlative is formed by the suffix *-ist*, e.g., *posist* 20, 4; *klainist* 58, 11; *elltisten* 12, 9; *nideriste* 30, 3; *zû vodrist* 9, 3; *tewffister* 'tiefster' 11, 9; *wirdigist* 24, 2; *herttist* 37, 3. A few words always have syncope: *höchst* 7, 4; *erst* 9, 5; *den lesten kónig* 10, 4; *fürsten* a. pl. masc. 10, 4; *am besten* 6, 9; *nachsten* 14, 8; *der nagst* 77, 11; *negste* 34, 11; *jüngsten* 6, 2. One word fluctuates: *grössist* 8, 6; *grösst* 16, 1; *grösster* 20, 8. The ending *-est* occurs only once: *kleinest* 4, 12.

§61. A few idioms: *maist* is used as an adjective = 'gröszt, wichtigst': *die maist vrsach* 57, 4 (cf. *zu merer* ['gröszerer'] *scherff* 58, 13); *den wenigisten* (Matt. 18:6; Luther *geringsten*) 47, 7; *zum vodristen* 'zuvorderst' 45, 3; *des wenigisten hallers* 81, 6; *bis awf wenigisten haller* 'bis auf den letzten Heller' 83, 5; *des lessten gericht's* 'jüngsten G.' 100, 12.

## CHAPTER 4. NUMERALS

§62. For the declension of *ain*, see the indefinite article §84. When used substantively and as a numeral the masc. and neut. nominatives are *ainer* 6, 8; 7, 1; *ains* 7, 1; 18, 2. Phrases: *ains*

werden 67, 7; *hinder ainem* 'hinter der (Zahl) Eins' 29, 3. The numbers 2 and 3 are regularly declined as follows:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N. A. ....	<i>zwen</i>	<i>zwo</i>	<i>zway</i>	<i>drey</i>	<i>drey</i>	<i>drew, dreü</i>
G. ....	<i>zwayer</i>	<i>zwayer</i>	<i>zwayer</i>	<i>dreyer</i>	<i>dreyer</i>	<i>dreyer</i>
D. ....	<i>zwayen</i>	<i>zwayen</i>	<i>zwayen</i>	<i>dreyen</i>	<i>dreyen</i>	<i>dreyen</i>

§63. E.g., n. a. *zwen wege* 30, 3; *zwen ständ* 30, 4; *zwen götter* 40, 1; *zwen vater* 60, 5; *zwo person* 19, 7; *zwo gab* 21, 4; *zwo zeit* 12, 6; *zway ding* 24, 7; *zway awgen* 44, 11; *zwaï wesen* 26, 5; *zway haup* 'Häupter' 27, 6. In the g. and d. the neut. form has been generalized, e.g., *zwayer freünd*, *zwayer spruch* 39, 4; *zwaier person* 11, 4; *zwayer (natur)* 7, 9; 25, 7; *zwayerlay* (always written as one word) 7, 3; 11, 8; d. *zwayen herrn* 45, 5; *zwaïen jungern* 69, 6; *zwayen spruchen* 39, 4; *zwayen feinden* 20, 9; *in zwayen gottes hannden* 21, 4; *in zwayen geistlichen krefftē* 28, 17; *zwayen wesen* 33, 2; *zwayen gepoten* 33, 2.

§64. In 3 the masc. and fem. have fallen together, e.g., n. a. *drey vāter* 60, 5; *drey vocal* 19, 10; *drey personen* 7, 6; 22, 1; *in drey natur* 22, 1; but the neut. has the historical form, e.g., *drew ambt* 23, 2; *drew ding* 60, 4; *dreü vbl* 33, 3; g. *seiner dreyer sūn* 'Söhne' 87, 1; *dreyer gnaden* 78, 7; *dreyerlay* 4, 11; 5, 1; 17, 3; 20, 1; d. *in dreyen fālen* 'Fällen' 99, 9; cf. also 37, 3; 68, 7; *den selben dreyen krefftē* 26, 4; *von allen dreyen personen* 22, 1; *vor dreyen jaren* 24, 3; *mit dreyen vbeln* 33, 2.

§65. The numbers from 4–10 have inflections only sporadically, e.g., *viere* 13, 1; 22, 1 (subst.); 42, 4; 43, 12; 63, 3; 94, 8; g. *vierer* 91, 1; *viererlay* 58, 4; *in vieren* (subst. = 'in vier Stücken, Bedingungen') 63, 1; *fünferlay* 19, 7; *fünffe* (subst.) 79, 4; d. neut. *fünfen* 77, 4; *seze* (subst.) 51, 3 (this word is always written with x); *Der-selbē werch seīn sibene leiblich vnd sibene geistlich* 87, 1; *zehene* (sc. *warsagung*) 24, 7; *zehen* never syncopates the second e, e.g., 17, 4; 27, 3; 51, 1; 77, 4.

§66. The number 11 has the full uncontracted form plus an inorganic dental: *aindlif* 92, 3; so also the ordinal: *aindlift* 11, 1; 14, 12; 51, 13.

§67. In 12 the diphthong is already contracted and shortened, but not yet rounded. The vowel in the second syllable is retained

once: *zwelif* 96, 4; otherwise *zwelf*, e.g., 9, 2; 12, 3; 51, 6; 53, 3. So also in the ordinal.

§68. The numerals 13–19, 21–29, 31–39, etc., are formed regularly. It should be noted that ‘one’ in 21, 31, 41, etc., is the strong neut. form *ains*, e.g., *ainsundzwaintzigist*, *ainsunddreissigist*, etc., the only exception being *ainundzwantzig* 12, 8.

§69. The tens are: *zwaintzig*, *dreissig*, *viertzig*, *fünfftzig*, ordinal *sexigist*, *sibentzig*, *achtzig*, *newntzig*, *hundert*.

§70. The ordinals are all declined like adjectives. They are: *erst*, *ander*, *dritt*, *vierd*, *vierdt* 5, 3 (1×), *fünfft*, *sext*, *sibend*, *sybend*, *acht*, *neündt* 9, 1; 51, 5; *zum newnten* 39, 9; *zehendt* 10, 1; 51, 5; 98, 3; *zehent* 51, 12; 65, 5; *aindlift* 11, 1; *zum aindlefften* 92, 3; *zwelfft* 12, 1.

§71. From 13–19 the suffix is *-d* (once *-t*: *sibentzehent* 17, 1). It is added to the cardinal. From 20 on the ordinals are made by the suffix *-ist*, e.g., *zwaintzigist*, *ainsundzwaintzigist*, *fünfftzigist*, *sexigist*, etc.

§72. When the ordinals are written in Arabic numerals, periods are placed before and after the numbers, e.g., *im .74. capitel* 89, 3; *bis awf .81. capitel*; *des .794. jares* 85, 6; but occasionally periods are put between the digits as well as before and after, e.g., *im .1.5.2.5. vnd des .1.5.26. jars* 37, 3.

## CHAPTER 5. PRONOUNS

### 1. PERSONAL

§73.	Sg. n.	<i>jch</i>	<i>du, dw</i>
	g.	<i>mein</i>	<i>dein</i>
	d.	<i>mir</i>	<i>dir</i>
	a.	<i>mich</i>	<i>dich</i>
	Dual	....	<i>es</i>
	Pl. n.	<i>wir</i>	<i>jr</i>
	g.	<i>vnser</i>	<i>ewr-</i>
	d.	<i>vns, vnns</i>	<i>ew, euch, eüch, ewch</i>
	a.	<i>vns, vnns, vnsz</i>	<i>euch, eüch, ew</i>

§74. The g. sg. is found in such expressions: *mein nit wirdig* 56, 4; *sy haben mein verspott* 63, 7; *awswendig dein* ‘ausserhalb deiner’ 28, 3; *dein mächtig* 45, 10. The dual form of the 2d person occurs but once: *das hawp müg nit sprechen zw den füessen* / *es seyt mir vnnot-*

*durfftig* 91, 7. Examples of the g. pl. are: *awsserhalb vnser* 20, 4; *vnser kainer* 31, 8; *deszhalb sy vnser auch vergessen* 88, 9; 2d person pl. with inorganic *-n(t)-*: *ewrnthalben* 78, 1; *von ewrn wegen* 97, 8. In the 2d person pl. the d. nearly always has the historical form *ew* (e.g., *Vorr.* 2, 5; 1, 6; 1, 8), but this form has also been extended to the accusative. The historical *euch*, *eüch* occurs only a few times, e.g., 1, 5; 1, 6; 2, 5.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	
§75. Sg. n.	<i>er</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>es</i>	Pl. <i>sy</i>
g.	<i>sein</i>	<i>jr, ir</i>	....	<i>jr</i>
d.	<i>jme, jm, im</i>	<i>jr, ir</i>	....	<i>jn, jne, jnen</i>
a.	<i>jne, in, jn</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>sy</i>

§76. The g. sg. *seiner* is not found yet; *sein* occurs frequently, e.g., *an stat sein* 28, 12; 31, 9; 78, 3; *von wegen sein* 31, 9; *hinder sein* 65, 2. In the d. a. sg. masc. the forms *jme*, *jne* are the common ones; *jme* 1, 1; 1, 4; 2, 1; 2, 2, etc., *jne* *Vorr.* 1 and 3; 1, 3; 2, 3; 4, 3, etc. Examples for the g. sg. fem. are: *ausserhalb ir* 59, 10; *hinder ir* 73, 7; *vergisst sy jrselbs* 32, 7; with inorganic *-nt-*: *irenthalben* 78, 5; g. pl. *jr jedes* 43, 17; *jr jeder* 19, 9; *jr khainer* 20, 4; *ir khains* 45, 5; *jr beder vater* 47, 7. In the d. pl. the historical form is found five times: *jn* *Vorr.* 1; 13, 7; 15, 4; 39, 15; *in* 35, 5. The form *jne* comes next in order of frequency, while *jnen* is the regular one.

## 2. DEMONSTRATIVE

§77. Sg. n.	<i>der</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>das</i>	Pl. <i>die</i>
g.	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>
d.	<i>dem, deme</i>	<i>der, dere</i>	<i>dem, deme</i>	<i>den, denen</i>
a.	<i>den, dene</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>das, daz</i>	<i>die</i>

§78. The distribution of these forms is as follows: (a) The definite article has only the short forms. (b) The demonstrative agrees with the article, but has in addition the forms *deme* and *denen*; d. pl. masc. *denen* 72, 8; fem. *aus denen vnd mer anndern vrsachen* 69, 10. (c) The relative has all these forms but one. In the masc. sg. *deme* and *den* predominate. *dene*, e.g., 10, 4; 13, 1; 18, 1; 18, 18; 21, 6; 27, 3. *dere*, d. sg. fem., is found 3 times: 17, 8; 58, 4; 81, 9. In the d. sg. neut. *deme* is the regular form; *dem* is found only three times, 10, 1; 20, 4; 20, 9. The d. pl. is always *denen*, e.g., 5, 7; 4, 15; 7, 2.

NOTE 1.—*so* is also used frequently as a relative in the n. a. sg. and pl. of all genders.

NOTE 2.—In Berthold are found some interesting examples, illustrating the development of the relative construction in German. In the following sentence *das* is still clearly a demonstrative, followed by an asyndetic clause: *Darumb mag der mensch nit albeg bekomen das er wil* 38, 10, 'Therefore man cannot always get all [that] he wants.' Compare with this the following (where *das* has exactly the same function as in the above, but where a relative has been dragged in to correspond to Latin *omnia ea quae*): *zehalten alles das was Christus . . . beuolhen* 17, 3. The best treatment of the relative is found in Professor George O. Curme's articles "A History of the English Relativ Constructions," *JEG Ph.*, XI (1912), and "The Origin of the Relative *welcher*," *Z. f. deut. Wortforschung*, XIV (1912), 112-26.

### 3. INTERROGATIVE

§79.	n.	<i>wer</i>	<i>was</i>
	g.	<i>wes</i>	<i>wes</i>
	d.	<i>wem, weme</i>	. . . .
	a.	<i>wen</i>	<i>was, wz</i>
	inst.	. . . .	<i>wew</i>

§80. The d. sg. masc. *weme* occurs only once: 12, 2. Inst. neut. *wew* (MHG. *wiu*), e.g., *nach wew die weld formiert sey? Antwort. Got hat nach seiner gleichnusz formiert die weld* 22, 3; *mit wew* 'womit' 54, 13 (3×); *von wew* 13, 13; *zû wew* 19, 5; *ymb wew* 'zu welchem Zweck' 66, 7; *aus wew* 22, 3; *was* is used as a relative, referring to a neut. sg., e.g., *alles was* 40, 5; 67, 6 (: *alles das was* 17, 3; 38, 1); it is used with a partitive genitive: *was newer lere* 11, 5; *was schulden oder vnflats* 30, 7; *was guts* 22, 2; *was vbels* 25, 8; and in the sense of modern German 'was für,' e.g., *was rach vber vns tewtsch geen / werden wir zû seiner stund erjndert* 98, 6; *in was masz jr messet / in derselben wirt ew hinwider gemessen* 84, 1; *auf was wege* 'in what way' 54, 13; 62, 1; *in was ere er durch got gesetzt gewessen* 49, 3.

§81. Like *wer* is declined *etwer* n. sg. 51, 4; 73, 9; *ettwer* 54, 12; 64, 9; *etwar* (= 'jemand') 77, 15; 73, 13; d. sg. *wer etwem ain sach raten wil* 51, 15; *von etwem genöttigt* 39, 15; neut. a. sg. *ettwas aigens* 50, 3; *auf gotliche weiszheit oder auf etwe anders piegen* 85, 10; *vns in etwe / das got missuellig ist / zeytlich zûerfreyen* 48, 6; other examples: *aws etwe* 57, 5; *in etwe* 100, 2. The form *ettwo* means 'irgendwo' 'etwa,' and 'etwas,' e.g., *Es mócht villeycht ligen ettwo im firmament* 31, 3; *wo derselb etwo irret* 43, 9; *alle creatur aws nichte zû etwo beschaffen* 39, 8.

WILLIAM F. LUEBKE

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

[To be continued]